S /382 cont./
SR agricultural, 27% work wholly at Thiès, and 31% divide
162 their activity between the city and the country, depending
369 on the season and the labor market.

S Thus, the decrease in the cultivable area has brought
SR about a decrease in the number of cultivators. But the None
241 is above all a man of the soil, a peasant. Even as a laborer, he will not give up his bit of land which will give him a harvest. Each evening upon his return from work, he will take up his iler (1) and go to cultivate his lougan of millet

S
SR
[412]

1. Hilaire or iler: implement par excellence of the Senegalese cultivator, made up of a metal blade in the shape of a heart fixed to a long handle.

S or groundnuts. And if he has an occupation that suits him in
SR the city and in addition personally owns good land? He will
241 hire the services of a navétane (2) to whom he will relinquish
369
427

2. Seasonal agricultural worker.

a portion of his land and to whom he will grant some free time for his personal crops. This navétane will work his fields, and, through this procedure, he will be able to sell or amass a considerable harvest at the end of the year.

S An examination of the occupation of temporary or
SR permanent workers shows an important number of laborers,
162 19, of masons, 12, and a more modest number of boys
463 /domestic workers/ and shopkeepers, 8, out of a total of 71 workers. These results corroborate those given in the human study of the escale of Thiès.

S In spite of a relatively close urban neighborhood, the
SR number of inhabitants understanding French is very modest:
162 only 33 understand our language; 15 children out of a hundred
191 go to the nearby French school. These results may appear
[871] deceptive if one considers that all the conditions of the milieu seem favorable for closer contact with the European element.

/422 cont./ Table XII (cont.)

*511
276

No.	Income	In Proportion to Income				
		Fuel	Illumination	Maintenance	Water	Kola
32	25,000	1.2	0.8	1.0	--	1.3
33	25,000	3.2	0.8	1.0	--	--
34	25,900	1.5	0.4	1.1	--	0.2
35	27,000	2.8	0.2	1.5	--	--
36	34,000	2.0	0.9	1.6	--	--
37	36,000	3.5	0.7	1.1	--	0.1
38	50,000	0.8	0.5	1.4	--	--
39	51,000	1.3	2.5	0.5	1.1	--
40	55,000	3.6	1.2	1.5	--	0.1
41	55,500	2.5	0.5	1.0	--	1.3
42	56,000	1.6	0.5	1.1	--	--
43	81,000	0.4	--	0.6	--	--

/423/

*511 Let us begin with the most obligatory of all, those from which it is most difficult to escape: taxes and the rent of the dwelling (Table XIII).[1]

*511
651 Two of our families do not pay taxes. Nearly all of the others devote at least 1% of their income to them. The tax paid would normally be proportional to the number of adults that the restricted family contains. It is quite often lower;
[659
[602 one may succeed in escaping the fiscal census. It is sometimes higher: specifically, in three cases where the salaried worker in the city pays the taxes for his relatives who remained in the village.

*511
427 Only 13 families pay rent for the dwelling. Two are given free lodgings by the owner; three are lodged by their
[466 employer. The others are "owners." This ownership is often
[423 limited to a straw hut, or better a plank hut, constructed on an
[342 administrative concession. The most favored build a true house of mud; up to now only one of our family heads has undertaken a "permanent" building.

[1] [see cat 116, pp 62-63. ANALYST]

/423 cont./

*511 362 427 It would be beyond our purpose to go into the problem of living conditions, since only budgets are in question here and not the standard of living in general. Let us state only that the desire to be the owner of one's home is legitimate if one examines the high cost of rent, and above all the portion of the income that its payment requires: 12% for No. 1, whose income is 5,800 francs (two rooms in a plank hut with a metal roof, where 13 persons are crowded together); 12.6% for No. 2; 14% for No. 16, etc.... The percentages noted after No. 26 are more normal, and the dwellings are more comfortable. But the incomes are from four to ten times higher.

*511 467 We have shown on the same table the percentages calculated for the syndical assessment, the cost of which is the same for everyone in the same syndicate (300 or 350 francs, depending on the syndicate), in order to show the cost, low on the whole, that they represent: one goes down in decreasing order from 0.4%, which is not negligible, to 0.09%, which is significant. No. 43 is a member of the syndicate of doctors, for which the assessment is higher.

*511 After rice, the clothing heading is the most important among many families. Some will be surprised at this, if they are not familiar with the cities of Senegal. Others would be expecting this result.

Table XIV[1] gives us the details for this heading, family by /424/ /Table XIII appears here/ /425/ family. The first verification shown is that the number of families exceeding 10% of the income is larger at the top of the table, where a deficit exists, than at the bottom. Should one conclude from this that they have decided to satisfy their reputed liking for clothing at any price?

The percentages are misleading; it is better for us to give some information on the absolute values.

From No. 1 to No. 10, none of these families devoted more than 10,000 francs to clothing in one year. No. 29 spent

1 [see cart 116, pp 66-67. ANALYST]

4: Mersadier--62 U-5 (1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

Table XIII

No.	Occupation	Income	In % in proportion to income: Taxes	Rent	Syndical Assessment
1	Laborer	5,800	--	12	0.4
2	Orderly	6,100	4.0	--	0.4
3	Laborer	6,500	2.0	--	--
4	Laborer	6,700	--	12.6	0.3
5	Orderly	6,745	4.0	--	0.3
6	Mattress-maker	7,000	1.0	--	--
7	Laborer	7,000	1.7	11.4	0.4
8	Orderly	7,410	2.0	--	0.5
9	Baker	7,500	1.1	--	--
10	Cultivator	8,150	1.2	--	--
11	Auxiliary D. N.	8,940	2.6	--	0.2
12	Laborer	9,000	3.4	--	0.2
13	Laborer	9,800	1.7	--	0.2
14	Cultivator	10,000	1.8	--	--
15	Laborer	10,000	3.1	7.5	--
16	Auxiliary	10,675	0.9	14	0.2
17	Auxiliary	10,800	2.1	--	0.2
18	Spec. laborer	11,000	1.1	--	0.2
19	Accountant	11,950	2.0	4.1	0.3
20	Auxiliary	12,000	1.3	--	0.2
21	Clerk	13,000	3.2	--	0.1
22	Auxiliary	14,000	1.3	--	0.1
23	Cultivator	15,000	5.0	--	--
24	Cultivator	15,000	1.6	--	--
25	Auxiliary D. N.	15,630	1.6	--	0.1
26	Employee P. T. T.	15,800	1.7	9.5	0.1
27	Shoemaker	16,200	3.4	--	--
28	Worker D. N.	22,000	4.5	--	0.1
29	Police sargeant	22,000	1.4	1.3	--

4: Mersadier--63 U-5-(1954) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

/424 cont./ Table XIII (cont.)

*511
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65/467

No.	Occupation	Income	In % in proportion to income: Taxes	Rent	Syndidal Assessment
30	Weigher	24.000	1.6	--	0.1
31	Carpenter	25.000	1.3	--	0.1
32	Cultivator	25.000	0.7	--	--
33	Chauffeur	25.000	2.5	4	0.1
34	Employee P.T.T.	25.900	1.4	6	0.09
35	Staff employee D.N.	27.000	1.6	3.7	0.09
36	Private accountant	34.000	1.4	--	--
37	Truck-gardener	36.000	1.4	--	--
38	Jeweler	50.000	0.4	4	--
39	Teacher	51.000	1.1	--	--
40	Staffworker D.N.	55.000	1.1	--	0.09
41	Head employee D.N.	55.500	1.4	1.8	--
42	Chief worker	56.000	0.9	--	--
43	Doctor	81.000	3.2	--	0.2

*511 /425 cont./ 9.300 francs; No. 1, 8.000 francs. From No. 11 to No. 23, we exceed 15.000 francs only once (19).

These two groups nearly correspond, on the one hand, to the group of monthly incomes from 5.000 to 10.000 francs and, on the other hand, to the group from 10.000 to 15.000 francs. For the latter, the maximum to be devoted to clothing would thus be equal to a month's income. The figure may seem reasonable, but the proportion is very great for budgets systematically having a deficit. It is true that many do not

[291]
[292]
[796]

/430 cont./

*511 Finally, eight families more or less regularly devote
517 a part of their incomes to the heading "Diversions"; ex-
[541] cluding No. 36 /431/ (he attends the horse races), all go to
[546] the cinema or send their children there. They are the numbers:

No. 16: 1%	No. 36: 1%
No. 22: 3.5%	No. 39: 0.6%
No. 26: 0.9%	No. 40: 0.2%
No. 33: 0.6%	No. 43: 0.6%

[204] There must be added to that five families who read and buy newspapers:

No. 34:	Employee...	0.3% of the income
No. 36:	Accountant..	0.7% --
No. 39:	Teacher.....	1.6% --
No. 41:	Employee...	0.4% --
No. 43:	Doctor.....	2.5% --

*511 A final question presents itself. How, when there is
423 any, are the surpluses utilized.

We have been able to get precise data in only two cases: No. 36 built a house to which he devoted in one year, from March 1952 to March 1953, 80,000 francs. On the
● [427] other hand, No. 43 has taken in rent-sale a villa in Dakar, and for that he pays 12,300 francs per month.

Moreover, the ambition of many, as we have said, is
[554] to become the owner of their dwelling. Some look further and want some gardens besides. Several already possess one or the other and are only trying to improve or enlarge them. One of them claimed that he had had a well dug, but he was unable or did not want to remember the sums put into this undertaking.

*511 One of the family heads succeeded in starting a trans-
[472] portation business after having purchased two carts and a horse.
[494] Some hoard. We believed that a cultivator had a good-sized
[454] bank account and loaned the money at usurious rates. We have
[426]

/172 cont./

166 369 3) The migrations of the Toucouleur and the Moors show, for each of them, their own peculiarities, which give these two ethnic groups of immigrants an unquestionable originality.

/173/

III. Work. Socio-occupational Structure

162 463 128 Three problems are interesting in this section: the socio-occupational distribution properly speaking, unemployment, and the place of work.

The crude results of the distribution of the occupations are too scattered to show the broad outlines of the structure. It has seemed to us preferable to regroup the various professions into six large categories and to present the table of percentages of each within each ethnic group. Let us specify what each category corresponds to: that without any occupation, we have put the marabouts who do not have any activity, whether they practice full time -- which is rare --, part time, or do not have any students at all. /Table 11 appears here./

It is necessary to add the merchants to the artisans. The category "manual workers" is the largest: it includes the /174/ laborers, orderlies, chauffeurs, in short, all those who do not have an occupational qualifications. By staffs one should understand foremen as well as office employees, accountants, or typists, provided they belong to private enterprises. Under the rubric of "officials" are listed all those who are concerned with public functions from the local or general staff: policemen, government officials, or employees of the municipality. For each ethnic group the first line gives the percentages in the quarters and the second the corresponding percentages in the districts. The bottom line shows the total result, and the two preceding ones the results in the quarters and in the districts.

This table deserves a brief explanation:

162 463 B27 1st. There are only very few cultivators. One would think that the proximity of the Niayes of Cape Verde and the importance of truck-gardening cultivation would favor

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 28--Analyst]

/174 cont./

162 463 [427] the development of agricultural work; there has been none of this. Indeed, the lands are the property of the Lebou of neighboring villages and the cost of renting is high. Gardening therefore remains the privileged domain of the old villages of the peninsula, Keur-Massar, Thiaroye-sur-Mer, and Cambérène.

2nd. The great majority of the labor force is made up of non-specialized workers: almost 45% manual workers without occupational qualifications.

3rd. The Moors have a special place: two-thirds are merchants who keep shop, and the last third is made up almost exclusively of butchers who have been classed among the "manual workers."

4th. The most interesting feature is the difference which distinguishes the occupational structure of the districts from that of the quarters: in the first, no shop, either Moorish or Wolof, and practically no artisan; in the second, practically one worker out of two has no occupational qualifications, whereas this proportion drops to 12% in the districts; finally, and above all, out of three heads of families in the former, two are officials, whereas there is no more than one official out of ten in the latter.

362 463 [427] [426] [465] The reason for this recruitment is solely of an economic nature. Almost all the inhabitants of the districts are owners of their dwellings or will become such after they have made their payments. Now, these are spread over five years and have been calculated in such a way that the monthly payment does not exceed a quarter of the salary received. For the cheapest dwellings this is equal to a payment of 5,000, therefore to a monthly salary of about 20,000. A /175/ guard, houseboy, or a laborer does not earn this sum and is incapable of procuring a dwelling of this type. The dwellings of the districts are thus principally reserved for the officials, and then for the staffs, who have an adequate and 571 an assured salary. We therefore witness here the appearance of this phenomenon of social differentiation observable in many other African countries; it consists of the existence

Table 26. -- 2) Districts

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	1	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-9	10 to 15	15 +	TOTAL
1										
2			2	1	2	2	1			8
3		1	3		4	4	3	5		20
4	1					1	2	4	1	9
5				1			2		1	4
6						1				1
7										
Total..... ..	1	1	5	2	6	8	8	9	2	42

/194 cont./

511 592 of the family. This is an extremely important phenomenon. In order to understand it better, a study of the group occupying the parcel is now in order.

● 427 511 A first distinction arises regarding the mode of occupation. Aside from the tenants and owners of their parcels, there are also those who are neither the one nor the other and who live [593] gratuitously in a hut that does not belong to them, generally because of their kinship ties with the owner. Here is the table in percentages of these three categories arranged by ethnic groups. /Table 27 appears here./

[369] 62% of the occupants are thus owners, but we have seen that only 45% have been expelled from Dakar and have therefore from this fact become owners of the parcel that has been granted

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592
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Table 27

Ethnic Groups	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Owner	67	58	60	53	50	63	68	62
Renter	19	23	32	30	42	27	18	23
Occupant without paying	14	19	8	17	8	10	14	15
Total	100							100

/194/

10: Thoré--57 S-5 (1960) 1962 MS37 Senegal MS 37

/194 cont./

511 them. As a result, a certain number of family heads, around
427 17%, are owners only because they have bought their parcel.
[369] This fact therefore shows that Pikine has become a choice locality where it is worth the trouble to spend money in order to establish oneself, and thus corroborates the hypothesis set forth above, that the evolution of Pikine today attests to an indisputable degree of urban maturity.

In the districts one counts only 9% who are tenants; all the others are owners or on the way to it. But while the rent of a room in a hut located in the quarters costs an average of 500 francs, the price is much higher in the districts, and this income permits the owner, who for his part is obliged to make a monthly payment to the Office de l'Habitat hardly higher /195/ than the amount of the rent, to acquire at the end of five years a dwelling by paying, in a word, only a ridiculous amount. It is difficult to evaluate the frequency of this abusive practice; in our sample it was three out of four tenants.

351 Another point has to do with the possibility of dividing
511 the parcel into half parcels or of two and even three homes being associated on the land of a single parcel. This possibility does not exist in the districts, where, in practice, economic obligations and the arrangement of the habitat as a rule require having only a single home per parcel. In the quarter, out of 264 homes, one counts 191 of them, namely, 72%, that are alone on the land; 46, or 17%, are in groups of two; and 27, or 11%, are in groups of three.

511 The types of association are very diverse, from the
592 households which are united by a bond of kinship and which represent 22% of the cases of association, that is to say, 6% of the total, to homes living on two half-parcels rigorously separated. The most frequent case is that of two unrelated households living together, who share, if not the same hut, at least the same inner court, each having its fire and doing its cooking separately. In general, the families thus grouped contain only a limited number of members, the scantiness of a half parcel not being favorable to the installation of numerous families. Since this factor does not

17: Mercier--43 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/35 cont./

kinship, kinship by marriage, membership in the same ethnic group, the same religious persuasion, the same occupation; certain other facts are ambivalent, for example, membership in the same association. In the study that we have made of a certain number of blocks of Médina, we have tried to isolate the neighborhood factor at different levels of participation in common activities. We essentially retained: reciprocal visits, conversation groups, mutual aid (loans, etc.), relationships between women, the play groups of children. The relationships of simple politeness are not retained. We considered successively the relationships inside the compound -- when it is not inhabited by a single family -- and the relationships within the block. In the last case, a somewhat arbitrary limit is posed: the street is not a border, but a zone of assembly. It has not yet been possible to study completely the social role of the latter.

In the block that we shall take as an example, 12 out of 14 compounds were studied; the inhabitants of the other two compounds were on a trip or refused to lend themselves to the investigation. The block as a whole is very heterogeneous ethnically, but, however, with a clear dominance of Wolof-Lebou (2).

2. Six family heads who were manifestly Lebou persisted in calling themselves Wolof. Cf. above.

It contains 39 family groups (representing 199 persons) and 11 isolated bachelors, tenants of some of the preceding families. Five of these bachelors only live /36/ in Dakar seasonally, but in principle always in the same place. The distribution of the family heads by ethnic groups is as follows: 28 Wolof, 4 Lebou, 5 Toucouleur, 1 Sarakolé, 1 Socé. Among the isolated bachelors, one has: 5 Wolof, 2 Toucouleur, 2 Socé, 1 Bambara, 1 Soussou.

1. The study of the relationships within the compounds shows a certain variety of situations.* These compounds are

*[see chart, pp. 56-57.- Analyst] .

/88 cont./

369 bar, and sometimes its cinema and its swimming pool; /89/
563 they form a small city that is self-sufficient. The officers
573 of the administration by their very functions seem to have more extensive relations in the different milieus.

Among the merchants and artisans, the problem is different because of the very stability of their work and the length of their stay. In this commercial and artisan milieu one could define three very distinct "groupings": the "old ones" who have lived in Thiès for several decades; the "newcomers" from after the war; the Levantine-Moroccan grouping.

The first are not very numerous; they live in their old factorerie, which, in spite of recently added arrangements, preserves something old-fashioned about it. They are able to [191] talk to the native in his own language. Their life, while it has become more comfortable, is lived modestly; they go out little and entertain only among themselves. Every two [484] or three years they take a few months' rest in France during the season of cultivation in Senegal. As a result, their life is quite withdrawn.

The second group, made up of recent emigrants, is entirely different. It primarily contains bachelors or young married people more or less in love with adventure perhaps, but above all seeking a broader existence. They generally [427] live in one or two rooms rented from a Levantine or Moroccan. [265] Since it is difficult for them to cook at home, the restaurant [484] provides for them. In general they adopt a careless attitude, [493] are restless, and speak loudly; their first savings are intended for the purchase of a motorcycle or a small car which will enable them to escape from the city. Moreover, they are per- [546] sistent spectators at the four local cinemas, which have a new program every day.

The group of Levantines is different from the two preceding ones; their life is spent between their shop and their [484] apartment. Rare changes take them to Dakar on business. [353] Their interior is comfortable, arranged according to Oriental taste; they love vivid colors and pile up cushions. They [484] rarely go back to their country of origin; some of them have

/9 cont./

795 have a moral obligation to deliver the products of their labor to the marabouts. With a remarkable ardor for clearing, these 244 Murids have improved new lands and have thus made a "ground- 311 nut front" progressing toward the east, especially on both sides 795 of the Dakar-Niger railroad. This cultivation, however, presents grave dangers, because the Murids essentially concern themselves with groundnuts at the expense of millet; they use the cleared lands in the average proportion of 60% of the area for groundnuts and only 40% for millet. Crop rotation and fallowing are all too rarely respected, and the lands put under cultivation are all the more unstable since the groundnut front now abuts on the zone of the lateritic cuirasses of the east, ushering in the Sudan.

244 The navétanes (4) are the seasonal workers who come
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[464]
[167]
[113]

4. Fouquet, J., La traite des arachides dans le pays de Kaolack et ses conséquences économiques, sociales et juridiques /The trade of groundnuts in the region of Kaolack and its economic, social, and legal consequences/. Law thesis, Montpellier, 1951, 262 pp.

from the Sudan in particular and, up to 1958, from the north of Guinea. They cultivate the groundnut for the benefit of
[466] the employer, or diatigui, according to the clauses of a ver-
[465] bal contract. The employer furnishes the cleared ground, the seed, lodgings, and food. The navétane prepares the land, sows, weeds, and gathers the harvest. Actually, he devotes scarcely three to four half-days per week in work for the benefit of the diatigui. He utilizes the rest of his time for clearing and cultivating for himself. This labor is very costly for the employer, who is often obliged to borrow at prohibitive rates in order to feed the navétane. Moreover, this system presents grave dangers, because the temporary immigrant, clearing and cultivating land for which he feels no attachment,

/9 cont./

244 407 shows no regard for it. Finally, the navétane eats millet and does not produce any, which in certain regions aggravates the problem of the supply. Before 1939, in the period of the full development of groundnut cultivation, there were up to 70,000 navétanes in some years. The system of the authoritative organization of labor during the hostilities could by no means support these effectives; therefore, with the return to freedom in 1946, the number of navétanes had fallen to about 12,000. In order to attract them, they were given free travel going and returning. The suppression of these facilities in 1956 and [648] the closing of the Guinea frontier at the end /10/of 1958 have [167] considerably diminished the importance of these temporary [433] migrations, which, in sum, were not very profitable for the economy of Senegal.

Other seasonal movements of labor take place in the 244 framework of groundnut cultivation. The sourga come from 166 the city and take their place among their relatives under the 464 same conditions as the navétanes. The baraguini are laborers [427] who, in the regions of Tambacounda and Kédougou, offer their assistance to the cultivators during the harvest. They dig up the groundnut stalks, dry them, and detach and clean the seeds.

244 433 All of these types[1] of groundnut cultivation are characterized by small yields: 830 kilograms per hectare on the average in Senegal. These yields, a consequence of the poorness of the traditional technical contrivances, can hardly be improved. In recent decades the increase in volume of the harvest has been linked with that of the area cultivated, which is not without grave dangers: abuses of cultivation on soils that are unstable, and a falling off of food production. After some attempts without results in the years 1920-1930, it is mechanized cultivation which, at the end of the Second World War, seems most capable of increasing production for the benefit of the mother country, which suffered from a grave shortage of fatty substances.

[1] [See Category 116, pp. 3-8 for types of autochthonous cultivation--Analyst]

/387 cont./

361 369 buildings, the General Postoffice, the Treasury, the Town Hall, the former Délégation, the former Palace of Justice, and the Chambre de Commerce are included there. A "city" phenomenon tends to be produced in this quarter which, very lively by day, is almost completely empty at night. Toward the east this quarter extends along the road to Bel-Air and the old road to Rufisque by way of the industrial section of Dakar where the factories have been established largely since the war. On the northwest, on each side of the avenue W.-Ponty, extends a mixed quarter, commercial and residential, harboring the old Lébou families, having benefited from the facilities offered [427] by the Crédit Foncier, and the Lebano-Syrians and Cape Verdeans who rent or are quasi-owners as a result of long-term leases. It is therefore an old quarter that developed especially after the construction of the commercial port and has preserved its narrow streets, quite unique today, its low houses dominated here and there by some recent building. The avenue W.-Ponty, 366 with greatly varied commerce, the avenue Gambetta dominated 369 by the Lebano-Syrian commerce, the avenue Roume bordered by beautiful buildings and enlivened by luxury commerce, and finally the avenue Maginot which is shared by great stores of the West and Lebano-Syrian commerce in fabrics near the market of Sandaga are the most completely transformed arteries of this section of the Plateau, where many cafés and restaurants, /388/ cabarets, and cinemas maintain far into the night a nonchalant, but pleasant animation following the rushing business of the day.

369 361 Beyond the Boulevard de la République, which bounds the old quarters on the west and which is distinguished by its many buildings, commerce disappears almost entirely, giving way to a residential zone of middle-class appearance, with its villas often more comfortable than stylish. This residential zone, formerly [563] entirely European, is mixed today, harboring European and African staffs. Barracks and hospitals separate this quarter from [717] Cape Manuel, formerly a military zone, but today occupied by [344] the monumental, Palace of Justice dominating the newly established embassies. But all of Dakar-ville is not as well arranged

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 39
Wolof. MS 30
Trarza MS 24

From 1836 onwards treaties were made with the chiefs of the Casamance basin, and posts were constructed at Sedhiou, Karaban, and Diembering. These treaties respected Portuguese historic but obsolete rights at Ziguinchor, but effectively guaranteed that the future of the river should be French.

The abolition of the status of slavery by France in 1848 deprived the French merchants of a cheap supply of labour, which they had rented from the chiefs, and in 1850 a committee was appointed to consider withdrawal from the colony or, as an alternative, the establishment of French authority. It decided in favour of the latter, and the policy of trade treaties came to an end.

The new French policy, to which Napoleon III was pledged, was summed up as 'absolute freedom of commerce with the suppression of the escales; establishment of security, by force if necessary; the substitution of full and entire authority for the system of treaties and subsidies; methodical organization of expansion towards the interior; and concurrently the development of economic institutions'.

'By Force if Necessary'

Faidherbe. It was to carry out this policy that Faidherbe was appointed Governor of Senegal in December 1854. He had already had much experience as a soldier and administrator in the colony, and, with a break of eighteen months, he held office till July 1865. His period of office marked a turning-point in the history of Senegal, and he is justly remembered as one of the builders of the modern French Colonial Empire. At first his resources were pitifully small. He had four companies of marine infantry, a company of native infantry formed on the liberation of the slaves in 1848, sixty spahis, and some detachments of artillery and engineers. His naval strength was on a similar scale. Both were substantially strengthened in the next few years.

The Arabs. Faidherbe decided to deal with the Trarza Arabs. Notwithstanding the treaty of 1835, they had continued their marauding expeditions across the river, and had re-established a supreme influence over the Ouolofs of Oualo. Early in 1855 the Trarza chief Mohammed el Abib insolently demanded the French evacuation of certain islands near the mouth of the Senegal. Faidherbe marched against him and defeated him near St. Louis on 15 February. On 25 February the Ouolofs were defeated near Ross. The French captured more than 2,000 cattle and burned 20 villages.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

redemption money. During 1936 official figures showed 1,000 labourers working under written contracts for private concerns, while 31,800 were working on verbal agreements. For public services there were only 20 working with written contracts and 8,900 without. These figures apply only to regular employment, and they take no account of casual labour of any kind.

The fertile provinces of Baol and Sine-Saloum annually attract thousands of immigrant labourers from French Sudan to grow ground-nuts. It is estimated that, in some years, as many as 60,000 Sudanese labourers (*navétanes*) cross the border, encouraged by cheap fares on the railways and advances of pay from the Chambers of Commerce. In 1932 these advances amounted to 300,000 francs. On their arrival they do not work for daily hire, but each labourer takes up a plot for the season. The landowner provides the seeds, and also board and lodging for the labourer. In return the labourer works on the owner's plot for two, three, or four days a week. At the close of the season the proprietor takes either one-tenth of the crop or double the quantity of seeds that he supplied, leaving the rest of the crop to the labourer. Most labourers return to their homes at the end of the harvest, but occasionally they stay on till they have accumulated the sum they set out to acquire.

Agriculture

The first director of agriculture of Senegal may be said to have been Richard, one of the survivors of the *Méduse*. Under him experimental gardens were founded at Richard Toll about 1820. These are still in existence. The present organization of the Department of Agriculture is laid down by an order of 22 January 1932. Working in close contact with local administrative officers, it manages experimental gardens and farm schools, gives information and instruction to farmers, conducts campaigns against agricultural pests, and organizes agricultural shows. The Department has a laboratory at Hann and an experimental station at Bambey. This was opened in 1924 and is devoted principally to the study and improvement of ground-nuts. Besides these institutions the Department owns various smaller stations for study, experiment, and instruction.

Forestry. The Department of Agriculture had charge of forestry until an order of 10 February 1937 created a separate Forestry Department and divided the colony into four forestry districts (*inspections*), with headquarters at St. Louis, Thiès, Ziguinchor, and Tambacounda respectively.